Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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Proletarian Revolution in India.

By M. N. ROY.

It is a very well known fact that, for the past few years, India has been in a state of revolution. Of course, ever since the British Imperialist domination was imposed upon it, the Indian people has never ceased to make efforts for freeing itself from the foreign yoke. These efforts varied in character and seriousness according to the social and economic circumstances in which they took place. But they are all of historic importance in so far as they indicate the development of the revolutionry forces, which always exist in the organism of a people whose normal growth has been obstructed by political domination and economic exploitation by foreign imperialism. The most serious of these efforts was the Revolution of 1857, which almost succeeded in overthrowing the British rule. Had this revolution been successful the history of India would have been entirely different; the masses of Indian workers to-day would have swelled the ranks of the proletarian army of the world.

The revolution of 1857, which in fact took the character of a military revolt, was, nevertheless, a mass upheaval. It had the peasant and labouring class behind it. Its effects on the masses can be traced through the last half of the 19th Century. The Peasant Revolt in the Deccan (1873), the serious unrest in the province of Orissa, as the result of the great famine of 1893-4, the violent disturbances among the Marhattas of the Bombay Presidency in the closing years of the last century, all these are progressive steps towards the final revolution of the Indian masses, which is destined to bring about their political, social and economic emancipation. In the first years of the present century India entered into the period of continuous revolutionary activities. Although to be able to exploit them safely, the British rulers kept the Indian masses in ignorance, and destroyed the highly-developed indigenous craft industries, the creation of an educated middle-class was inevitable. This class was brought into existence by the British bureaucracy in order to serve its purposes, but the time came when it turned against its creator. The Nationalist movement originates in this class, which soon stood at the head of a powerful revolutionary movement of a bourgeois democratic nature.

Fight Against Imperialist Capitalism.

It is generally supposed in Europe that the present Indian movement is a struggle for political independence, led by the bourgeois democrats; it is assumed that the Indian movement must be in that stage of the Revolution when the masses are led by the middle-class to overthrow feudalism or something equivalent to it, in order to enter into the period of bourgeois political democracy. But a very significant fact is overlooked. The economic situation in India to-day does not correspond in any way to that of the European countries during the epoch when the standard of bourgeois democratic revolution was raised there. The fight of the European peoples then was against feudalism; whereas the essential character of the revolutionary movement in India, is the struggle of a people reduced to the merciless exploitation of imperialist capitalism. Feudalism, or its equivalent, in India has been destroyed by British industrialism, which imposed on the Indian labouring masses the imperialism of capitalist bourgeois democracy. Under the imperialist rule of the British democracy, the majority of the people of India has been reduced to the state of pauperism. There are more wage-slaves in India to-day than in any other country. To-day, nothing stands between the Indian masses and the imperialist capitalism, in which is included the growing native capitalist class, which is comparatively weak. Bourgeoisie, in the real sense of the term, is very insignificant in India, where almost the entire population has been ground down to the same level of poverty and misery by the imperialist machine of exploitation. A great part of the Indian people own absolutely nothing. Instead of herding the toilers of India in different industrial centres, the capitalist imperialism has converted the whole country into a huge workhouse, which is a very necessary adjunct to modern industrialism in the home country. The working-class of India has been reduced to wage-slavery of the worst sort. Its political and economic conditions have no resemblance to those of the European masses in the 18th Century. Consequently, the revolution in India is taking such forms as are not generally anticipated. It has assumed the character of a proletarian struggle for social and economic emancipation.

42,000,000 Proletarians in India.

It is true that the leadership of the Indian revolution is still, to a great extent, in the hands of the bourgeois nationalists, who would like to lead the masses to fight under the flag of political independence, without formulating any social and economic programme. But the objective conditions are against them. To-day there are in India no less than 42,000,000 workers, who in every respect belong to the proletarian class. And the real strength of the revolutionary movement is to be found in this class. More than 5,000,000 of this huge army of disinherited toilers are employed in large scale industries, and the rest work on the land, not an inch of which belongs to them. While starving, these agricultural workers produce enormous quantities of raw materials and cereals for export to foreign lands. These workers are becoming more and more dissatisfied with their miserable condition, and those employed in the industries are carrying on a huge mass movement of a really revolutionary character. A revolutionary movement, in order to be successful, must mobilise the organised forces of these proletarian elements. And only a party that stands on the principles of Social Revolution will carry the proletariat and landless peasantry with it.

Political Strikes.

The awakening of the Indian working-class is very clearly seen. Until recently the masses played a rather insignificant rôle in the revolutionary movement, whose ranks were filled mainly by educated de-classed youths. But the war has changed the situation very sharply. It has increased the number of industrial workers by 50 per cent. On the other hand, the ranks of the proletarian class have been reinforced by millions of unemployed and landless peasants; the worsening of the conditions of life and labour has driven the toilers to the clear and definite task of fighting for the betterment of their economic condition, and for their right to human existence. During the last year the whole country was swept by an unprecedented series of strikes, affecting almost every branch of public life and industry. All these strikes were spontaneous and openly revolutionary in character. Beginning with demands for higher wages and better working conditions, almost all the strikes developed a strong political character, and in many cases ended in open revolt, in which the general public participated, and which had to be put down by armed force. Each strike is followed by a series of sympathetic strikes, even the small traders often closing their businesses. The Punjab massacre of April last year was the outcome of a general strike. At first the workers in the textile industry of Ahmedabad (in the Presidency of Bombay) struck for higher wages. The native employer refused to concede the demands of the workers, who began to assume a threatening attitude, and the Government sent police to defend the mills. But the situation grew so serious that military forces had to be sent from Northern India. To prevent the transport of troops, the workers on the railway connecting the two provinces struck, and began to destroy the roads, telegraph lines, stations, troop trains, bridges, etc. In a few days the strike spread all over the country, entirely tying up all activities of public life. The whole movement soon assumed a decidedly political character, and ended in an uprising against British rule, which was suppressed by measures which reached their climax in Amritsar and other places in the Punjab.

The latest events show that it is no longer a question whether India is fit for a proletarian revolution. The masses are rebelling against the insufferable economic exploitation, and the economic liberation of the masses can only be attained through the Social Revolution. Therefore in India we find an immense field where revolutionary experience of great importance will be acquired. Besides helping vitally the destruction of imperialism, the proletarian revolution in India will be an interesting experiment of the controvertible theory, whether Communism can be reached except through highly centralised industrialism. The masses of India have suffered long under Capitalism, which came to them in the form of imperialism, and against which they are rebelling today. Even if the first stage of the revolution in India is fought under a nationalist banner, the unloosing of the social and economic forces will help the masses to act with greater freedom. Therefore, it is sure that the revolutionary ferment in India is bound to express itself through a proletarian mass movement, which will put an end to class rule under any form, and usher in the Communist State.

MURMANSK SOVIET.

Tamara Ketlinsky, of the District Committee of the Young Communist Union of the Murmansk Union, gave us a brief account of the Murmansk Soviet and the British invasion.

A Soviet was set up for the Murmansk district at the time of the first Revolution of 1917, but it was without power. It represented about 40,000 people. The second day after the October Revolution in Petrograd, a telegram was received that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets had decided to take the power and to form a Soviet Government, and called upon the local Soviets to seize the power in their districts. Ketlinsky's father, who was Naval Commander of the district, informed the officers under him that they must submit to this decision, and the Murmansk Soviet came into power.

A British warship, *Glory III*, already lay in the harbour, but, as yet, the Allies took no hostile step. One of the Russian Naval Officers stationed in the district, now often journeyed to Petrograd, and it was rumoured that he was a visitor at the foreign Embassies. He gathered around him a counter-revolutionary clique, by whom the Commander Ketlinsky was assassinated. He also began to work in the Murmansk Soviet, for separation from Moscow.

On July 12th, representatives of the Allies, including General Poole, Admiral Kemp, Hall, the British Consul, the French Capitaine Pelltane, and an American representative appeared in the Soviet to speak for separation from Moscow.

When the Allied representatives had spoken, the President of the Soviets said: "You see, Comrades, if we refuse to separate, the Allies will suppress us, if we separate, they will let us continue to do as we please." Then it was said that all who were in favour of separating from Moscow, should hold up one hand. More than half the hands were not put up, but the motion was declared carried without the contrary proposition having been put. Some railwaymen protested against this verdict, declaring that there would be war, and that war would mean separation from Moscow. It was stated in the counter-revolutionary newspapers afterwards, that the resolution had been carried unanimously.

The sailors on board the cruiser *Askold*, which lay in the harbour, held a meeting, and decided not to separate from Moscow, but the Allies sent these sailors to Central Russia, and placed a British crew aboard the *Askold*, which they sent to England, and have never returned.

In the autumn, the Allies took Archangel, and in the beginning of November, an order came from Archangel that the Murmansk Soviet was to be dissolved, and a Governor (Yermoloff), installed in its place.

In the spring of 1919, on the anniversary of the March Revolution, the Murmansk revolutionaries planned an attempt to recapture power; they asked permission to celebrate the anniversary of the March Revolution and intended to make this the occasion of their revolt. The Allies somehow got wind of their scheme, and took precautions to forestall it, and forced the ex-President of the Soviet and the Trade Union leaders to issue a declaration that Yermoloff and the Allies were doing all that was best for the country.

Anyone who was caught attempting revolutionary propaganda during the Allied occupation, or speaking against the North Russian Government, which existed by Allied support, was sent

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Conditions for Admission to the Third International.

The First Congress of the Third International did not lay down precise conditions for the affiliation of Parties to the Communist International, as, when it was formed, in most of the countries there were only Communist *tendencies* or Communist *groups*.

The Second Congress met under very different circumstances. In most of the countries there are already Communist *Parties* and *organisations*. Increasing numbers of Parties and Groups, which until recently belonged to the Second International, and which would now like to affiliate to the Third, are applying for affiliation, although they have not become really communistic. The Second International is irrevocably crushed. The intermediary Parties and the "centre" groups, seeing their hopeless situation, are forced more strongly every day towards the Communist International, hoping, at the same time, to retain an "autonomy," which will allow them to continue their opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International is to a certain extent the fashion.

The wish of certain leading "centrist" groups to affiliate to the Communist International shows indirectly that the Third International has gained the sympathies of the majority of the class-conscious workers throughout the world, and that it constitutes a force which grows from day to day.

Under certain conditions the invasion of the Communist International by undecided and semi-Communist groups, who have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International, might be a menace to it. Moreover, certain important Parties (Italian and Swedish), in which the majority hold Communist views, still retain amongst them numerous reformist and social-pacifist elements, who are only waiting an opportunity to raise their heads and to sabotage actively the proletarian revolution, thus helping the bourgeoisie of the Second International. No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The union of the Hungarian Communists with the reformists cost them very dearly. This is why the Second Congress of the International thinks it right to fix quite definitely the conditions for the admission of the new Parties, and at the same time to point out to the Parties already affiliated what their obligations are.

The Second Congress of the Communist International has decided upon the following conditions of admission :—

1. The daily propaganda and agitation must be definitely Communist. All the Party organs must be edited by positive Communists, having given proofs of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. It is not sufficient to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat as of a recognised and understood formula ; it must be propagated in such a way that the need for it is made clear to every workman, soldier and peasant from the facts of their daily life, which must be systematically noticed in our Press. In the columns of the Press, at public meetings, in the Trade Unions, in the Co-operatives, everywhere where the adherents to the Communist International have access, they must attack, systematically and implacably, not only the bourgeoisie, but also its accomplices, the reformists of all shades.

2. Every organisation wishing to affiliate to the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove all reformists and "centrists" from all posts, however little responsibility they involve, in the working-class movement (Party organisations, editorships, Trades Unions, Parliamentary sections, Co-operatives, municipalities), and replace them, especially at first, by experienced militants, and by workers risen from the ranks.

3. In all countries, where, in consequence of a state of siege or emergency laws, the Communists are unable legally to develop all their activities, it is absolutely necessary that legal action should be accompanied by illegal action. In nearly all the European and American countries, the class-struggle is entering upon the period of civil war. Under these circumstances the Communists cannot depend upon bourgeois legality. It is their duty everywhere to create, side by side with the legal organisation, a secret organisation, capable of fulfilling at the decisive moment its duty towards the revolution.

4. Propaganda and systematic and increasing agitation among the troops must be carried on. A Communist nucleus must be formed in every unit. The greater part of this work will be illegal : but to refuse to do it would be a betrayal of revolutionary duty, and consequently incompatible with affiliation to the Communist International.

5. A vigourous and systematic agitation in the country districts is necessary. The working-class cannot win unless it is supported at least by a portion of the agricultural workers (farm labourers and the poorest peasants), and if it has not neutralised by its policy, at least some of the backward country districts. The Communist action in the country assumes at the present time a capital importance. To refuse to accomplish it, or to confide it to doubtful semi-reformists, is to give up the proletarian revolution.

6. Every Party wishing to belong to the Communist International must denounce the hypocritical and false social-pacifism as much as the proved social-patriotism ; the workers must be shown systematically, that without the revolutionary overthrow of capital, no International arbitration tribunal, no debate on the reduction of armaments, no "democratic" re-organisation of the League of Nations can preserve humanity from imperialist wars.

7. The Parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must recognise that it is necessary to have a complete and definite rupture with the reformists and with the "centrist" policy, and to advocate this rupture among the members of the organisations. Future Communist action is only possible at this price.

The Communist International insists upon this rupture, absolutely and without discussion, and it must be carried out as quickly as possible. The Third International cannot admit that proved reformists, such as Turati, Modigliani, and others have the right to consider themselves members of the Communist International. Such a condition of things would make the Third International too much like the Second.

8. In countries where the bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppressed nationalities, the Parties should have a specially clear-cut and definite policy. Every Party belonging to the Communist International is in duty bound to unmask relentlessly the prowess of "its" imperialists in the colonies ; to support, not in words but in deeds, every movement for emancipation in the colonies ; to demand the expulsion from the colonies of the imperialists of the Motherland ; to foster in the heart of the workers of the country real fraternal sentiments towards the working-class population of the colonies and of the oppressed nationalities, and to carry on among the troops of the Motherland a continuous agitation against all oppression of the colonials.

9. Every Party wishing to belong to the Communist International must carry on persistent and systematic propaganda inside the Trades Unions, the Co-operatives, and other working-class organisations. Communist nuclei must be formed, whose constant and persistent work will win the Unions to Communism. It is their duty to expose at every opportunity the treason of the social-patriots and the hesitation of the "centrists." These Communist nuclei must be completely subordinated to the general control of the Party.

10. Every Party belonging to the Communist International is bound to fight energetically and tenaciously the yellow "International" of the Trades Unions, founded at Amsterdam. On the other hand it must support with all its strength the International Union of Red Trades Unionists adhering to the Communist International.

11. The Parties desiring to belong to the Communist International are bound to revise the composition of their Parliamentary sections, to separate the doubtful elements from them and to subordinate them, not in words but in fact, to the Central Committee of the Party, and to demand from every Communist Parliamentary candidate the subordination of all his activities to the real interests of revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The whole of the periodical or other Press and all the editions should be entirely subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party, whether the latter is legal or illegal. It is inadmissible that the public organs should misuse their autonomy in order to advocate a policy not in conformity with that of the Party.

13. The Parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the principle of democratic centralisation. During the actual period of acute civil war, the Communist Party will not be able to fulfil its rôle unless it is organised in the most centralised way, with an iron discipline similar to military discipline, and if its central organism is furnished with wide powers, exercising an undisputed authority, enjoying the unanimous confidence of the militants.

14. The Communist Parties in the countries where Communists function legally, must sift their organisations periodically, in order to separate the interested and petty-bourgeois elements.

15. The Parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must support without reserve all the Soviet Republics in their fight against the counter-revolution. They must unceasingly advocate the refusal of the workers to transport munitions and arms destined for the enemies of the Soviet republics, and to pursue, either legally or illegally, propaganda amongst the troops sent against the Soviet republics.

16. The Parties who still retain the old social-democratic programmes, must revise them without delay and elaborate a new Communist programme, adapted to the special conditions of their country, and conceived in the spirit of the Communist International. It is necessary that the programme of the Parties affiliated to the Communist International should be confirmed by the International Congress, or by the Executive Committee. In the case of the refusal to sanction a Party by the latter, the Party has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

17. All the decisions of the Communist International Congress, as well as those of the Executive Committees, are binding upon all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International. Acting during the period of acute civil war, the Communist International must be much more centralised than was the Second International. The Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the conditions of such varied struggles in the different countries, and must only adopt general and binding resolutions in matters where they are possible.

18. In conformity with all that precedes, all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International must alter their names. Every Party desiring to adhere to the Communist International must be called :— "Communist Party of ..... (Section of the Third Communist International)." This question of name is not a mere formality ; it also has a considerable political importance. The Communist International has declared a merciless war on the whole of the old bourgeois world and on all the old yellow social-democratic Parties. It is necessary that the difference between the Communist Parties and the old "social-democratic" Parties or official "Socialists," who have sold the flag of the working class, should be placed more clearly before all the workers.

A TRIP TO RUSSIA.

(*Continued from last issue.*)

"I was attached to the French and British Armies as an interpreter."

"But how is it that you were willing to help them against Russia?"

He was obviously surprised. He thought we would have approved his action, not knowing us, and only hearing us speaking in English. He said : "I know nothing of politics ; I was mobilised."

"And if you had been shot?"

"I was mobilised as I am mobilised now."

"And which would you prefer to work for?"

"I care nothing for politics. I hate these Red politics."

"But why?"

"We have nothing to eat. We die of hunger ; we live like dogs."

"And why?"

"The people are too backward ; it was always bad in Russia."

"Many people were hungry also before the war under the Czar?"

"Yes, but it is worse now. We have no sugar."

"Why?"

"The Russian people are backward ; the whole country is backward. It has always been so."

"Things are disorganised still, but they will improve."

"The Russian people will not work except when forced by the baton. I know them. No-one works here now."

"But in England they say there is forced labour in Russia, that you are compelled to work long hours," I remarked.

"Yes, we are slaves ; we are forced to work. I am forced to work. We die of hunger ; we have nothing but the Red Flag. The leaders have all they desire—the citizens nothing."

"Have you any proof of that? Can you give me any facts?"

He did not answer, but he went on :

"No-one cares to work. We have great quantities of fish, but no-one will fish because each must give what he catches to the community."

"But I see them fishing all around the quay ; the fishermen are everywhere."

One of them sat just by, as a matter of fact, with an enormous piece of bread, about two feet long, and a big piece of smoked salmon, from which he was making a sandwich.

"Oh, yes, just for themselves. No-one works now, they sleep till noon," he replied.

A Norwegian fisherman climbed up from his boat, that was anchored close by us. "Pay no attention to him," he said ; "he is one of the Whites. I never speak to him. He asked me for tobacco, but I say : 'None for you!'"

We returned to the Commercial Port Office, where lives the representative of the Third International—"one of the leaders." Breakfast had consisted of bread and coffee, with condensed milk. Dinner was of very thin soup, a little salt fish, and potatoes, tiny helpings of each such as people would not be content with in England. The pretty young wife brought in the food which she had prepared, then served it and eat with us.

The President of the local Soviet then called in to visit us, and a comrade whom we were told had fought the Allies "like a wolf" in the mountains, with a small band of comrades, blowing up bridges, cutting telegraph wires, and stopping trains.

Immediately after the meal we went to the railway station, where a body of Red soldiers and sailors had assembled, dressed in captured British uniforms, and displaying a number of red flags and banners.

A member of the Soviet, Comrade Wastein, the local representative of the Third International, one of the sailors, and Comrade Goriélova (an organiser of Petrograd women), addressed the meeting. We also spoke, and our remarks were translated. Then we all sang "The International." The soldiers and sailors and the men and women of Murmansk cheered the Third International and the International Communist Revolution with great enthusiasm.

Looking down on the crowd of faces at the meeting, one could say that all looked healthy and well-nourished, except Tamara Ketlinsky, who had been ill from over-work, having been engaged in an office and also in the women's organisation and the Young Communist organisation of the Murmansk district. She has now given up the office work. Everyone was comfortably dressed, but there was none of the Sunday smartness one sees at home. Everyone's clothes bore evidence of considerable wear.

Tamara Ketlinsky and some of the other comrades came a couple of hours' journey with us. Helen Goriélova is going all the way to Petrograd.

The railway carriages had uncushioned wooden seats, but I had a carriage to myself at night,

(*Continued on page six.*)

WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

By J. H. BURNS.

(Secretary of the London Council for Independent Working-Class Education).

Many comrades will ask: What do we mean by independent working-class education? Why independent? It is for the benefit of these comrades that we especially desire to explain our educational policy. As a preliminary, we may say that education can be generally defined as the means of gaining knowledge. It is open to everybody to utilise, although to some we are fully and painfully aware, to a much larger degree than others. As far as we are concerned, however, we confine ourselves to education for the working-class.

Now then, just to state that it is working-class education that we are propagating means nothing. It gives no index of the subjects or the point of view. Point number one is therefore the subjects. We believe, in fact, we know that the most necessary thing for the working-class is economic emancipation. It is upon this that the working-class will have to concentrate more and more of its attention, as we approach nearer and nearer to the inevitable social revolution. Economic freedom is the key to that grander conception of freedom which it is our ultimate aim to realise. Cultu e is all very good in its way and time, but we must once and for all recognise the fact that you cannot sow the seeds of culture on the barren ground of economic destitution and slavery, and hope to obtain any practical results of great value to the working-class. Point number one is, therefore, concentration on economics, industrial history and kindred subjects. Let us get that economic freedom, first and foremost.

Point number two is a question of point of view. We have here to take note of another truth, besides the economic interpretation of history, and that is the class-struggle. This latter truth, partly because of its blunt expression in the term class-struggle, sends cold shivers down the backs of most of our Christian brethren and of our staunch supporters of a supposed inherent social solidarity. We must, however, face the fact, and not try and make the fact somehow conform with our wishes and inclinations, thereby distorting it. As a question of tendency, we must notice that this class-struggle becomes more and more intensified with the growing class-consciousness of the working-class, economically predestined to grow until such time when there shall be an open conflict between the classes. The preliminary skirmishes which are going on all around us to-day, serve to herald this fast approaching great conflict, commonly known as the social revolution. It is right here, comrades, that we wish to stress the importance of the independent character of our education. Point number two is, therefore, concentration on an exclusively independent or working-class point of view, and it is hoped that inquiring comrades will take cognisance of the facts elucidated, and realise the necessity for this emphasis. Any other education is of the nature of half-truths or lies, whilst independent working-class education has the fundamental characteristic of adherence to the whole truth and nothing but the truth. In other words, the working-class point of view is the correct point of view.

So much for the educational policy of the Council. Now for the remainder of the constitution. The Council has divided London into 23 districts, and over each district has been, or is to be elected, a district committee, responsible for organising and running educational classes in the district. The 23 districts are as follows:—(1) Ilford; (2) Barking; (3) Walthamstow and Leyton; (4) Hackney, Bethnal Green and Shoreditch; (5) Stoke Newington, Hornsey and Wood Green; (6) Tottenham and Islington; (7) Finsbury and Holborn; (8) Stepney (including Mile End); (9) East andWest Ham and Poplar (including Bow and Bromley); (10) Woolwich and Greenwich; (11) Lewisham and Deptford; (12) Camberwell, Southwark and Bermondsey; (13) Lambeth; (14) Tooting, Mitcham, Balham and Streatham; (15) Wandsworth and Putney; (16) Battersea; (17) Acton, Chiswick and Ealing; (18) Fulham, Hammersmith and Kensington; (19) St. Pancras; (20) Willesden; (21)St. Marylebone and Paddington; (22) Chelsea and Westminster, and (23) Hampstead, Hendon and Finchley. Affiliation to the Council or central committee is open to London Labour, Socialist or Communist Organisations, and to those educational institutions advocating independent working-class education, namely, the Plebs League and the Labour College. Affiliation to the district committee is open to district branches of Trade Unions, Labour, Socialist or Communist Parties. The minimum affiliation fee is one guinea, to either district or central committee, and the payment of same entitles the affiliated body to (*a*) representation; (*b*) two scholarships, free of cost. With reference to the latter, the affiliated body must, for every one guinea subscribed, nominate two of its members for the available free scholarships. The students of the educational classes are also represented on the district committee, and the latter has direct representation on the Council. The Council reserves the right to intervene in matters of policy and constitution, but otherwise the district committees are to be made as autonomous as possible. With regard to finance, 60 per cent. of the affiliation fees collected by the district committee from district branches of Trade Unions, etc., is forwarded to the Council, and *vice versa* in the case of affiliation fees coming direct to the Council. This financial policy was thought to be the most reasonable and just, in view of the fact that the Council was, and is, solely responsible for the supply and remuneration of lecturers.

The Council was formed as the result of enthusiastic conferences held in the early part of the year, at which comrades from most of the districts of London were present. The N.U.R. and other Trade Union and Communist organisations, were represented. It was unanimously agreed upon that the need for joint effort in the educational movement had been no more urgent than it is to-day. It was felt that with co-operation, both the old and new classes could be run much more successfully. The Council is now formed, with its H.Q. at 11a, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, London, S.W. 5, and it only remains for the workers to take full advantage of the opportunities that we are able to afford them. Our dynamic is the great cause of the working-class, and our aim is to spread enlightenment. Come forward and help the Council in every way possible, financially and otherwise. Insist upon your organisation becoming affiliated. Enrol yourself, and attend and help the classes in your district. If no class exists, take the initiative in starting one, and we will help you to our utmost.

Workers! Knowledge is Power. Supplement propaganda by education. Find out more about yourselves and your history, so that when you, with your class, take over the power from your enemies, you can work your system in the smoothest and most beneficial way possible. Learn now, so that you may understand tactics, because the knowing of the right tactics is impossible without the necessary groundwork that education alone can give you. Just one word in conclusion, and that is with reference to the Plebs' League. The Plebs' League is the great pioneer organisation for spreading independent working-class education. To this body we owe our Labour Councils and our Councils, such as the London Council. We are also greatly indebted to it for the *Plebs' Magazine*, a wonderful little monthly, full of the "right stuff."

Workers! Think or Surrender!

UNITED STATES MINERS STRIKE.

There are 100,000 anthracite miners on strike in the United States, as they refuse to accept President Wilson's award of a 17 per cent. wage increase. The miners' indignation has been increased by the recent award of a much higher wage to the bituminous miners, and by the arrogant tone of the Wage Commission, which rejects the principle of the living wage.

BOOK REVIEW.

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.*

A TEXT-BOOK FOR MARXIAN STUDENTS.

The author has presented to proletarian students a simple, lucid, and comprehensive treatise based on the Marxian interpretation of human life and labour, which should be read by every studious and thinking worker. It should find its way into all working-class colleges, classes, clubs, libraries and homes.

In spite of its simplicity, the book calls for careful study; there are many excellent diagrams and no headway can be made in the reading and digesting of the contents without carefully consulting them. A thorough perusal of the first chapter, Historico-Sociological, will give the reader the necessary understanding of the method that Clunie employs throughout the text in giving visual form to his investigations. The worker in any given branch of industry will find herein, by a critical perusal and study of the diagrams, in what relation his industry stands to all others, how each is linked up to each and skilfully manipulated by the controlling interests to serve their own selfish purposes.

Perhaps the simplest illustration is on page 11, but one may add much to it in the imagination. It gives a clear-cut division between the exploiting and exploited classes, what might almost be a split from the very top to the lowest strata of our society; and right down along the line on the one side is to be seen, active or passive, the worker-supporters of the Capitalist régime, the retainers of the robber lords, even the harpies of the slums, the vicious element, which, Engels says somewhere, will willingly become the instruments of the counter-revolution to fight against the revolutionary will of the class-conscious proletariat. This difference is not so marked here, on account of the individualistic or anti-social tendency of the British workers; but on the Continent, where the co-operative movement is essentially working-class, untainted by petty-bourgeois contact as it is in England, the division is quite noticeable in the social life of the workers.

The index chapter deals exhaustively with the status of Labour in the existing social order. It shows how orthodox, or Trade Union, labour is, by reason of its growth and strength, reactionary and reformist, and naturally antagonistic to Revolutionary Labour. But because of the extension of Capital and pressure from Revolutionary Labour, Trade Unionism is reluctantly pushed into revolutionary channels. The recent developments in the Trades Union movement here lend added interest to this chapter.

On page 14 there is this clear and definite statement which should help to enlighten and comfort idealistic Socialists who often find it impossible to work and hold intercourse with their fellows of the same faith, because their conduct often belies their Socialist principles: "The connection between man and man is not a human but a property relationship, and will remain so until society is really humanised, and this cannot be until their material relationship has become socialised universally."

A keen observation of the remarkable diagram on objective economics, which, making use of unscientific terms, shows the powerful hold that "dead" capital has upon "living" labour, is essential. The subsequent chapters, dealing with value, exchange value, exchange, surplus value, and wages, will richly reward the diligent reader in search of lucid information on matters that are of especial interest in these times of tumbling exchanges and chaos in international commerce. They would doubtless help to enlighten many bourgeois economists of the Harold Cox school of thought.

But perhaps the most illuminating thing in the book is the short chapter xi., that takes up the "nature and function of Capital." It is beautifully clear, and ends with a brief, brilliant summary. The appendix is useful, especially the sections dealing with American banking concerns, and giving a list of the epoch-making inventions of the world. Altogether an excellent book.

HUGH HOPE.

* "First Principles of Working-Class Education," price 8s. 6d., post free 9s. 1d. By James Clunie, Socialist Labour Press, 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow.

THE SHOP-STEWARDS MOVEMENT.

In reference to your review of the pamphlet, "What is this Shop-Stewards' Movement?" it is true that in many instances Stewards have been discharged from the Shops and Jobs on various pretences, but in reality because of their activity on behalf of their fellow-workers, on the job. However, in every case taken up by the National Federation of Shop Stewards (Building Industry), the Stewards have been reinstated. All this has been achieved by the power of the workers on the job, and is an irrefutable argument in favour of the rank and file movement. The lesson to be learned is that, as the Shop-Stewards' Movement grows in power, so is the position of the Steward safeguarded. TOM WALSH.

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WORKERS! SUPPORT THE MINERS.

The miners' strike ballot for an increase of two shillings a shift and the reduction of 14/2 a ton on domestic coal, shows a majority in favour of a strike of 367,917, or 71·75 per cent. The capitalist press has been doing its utmost to stir up the public against the miners, making out it was the vote of the boys under 18 which carried the day, and that the majority of the married men were against it. As a matter of fact, if none of the boys had voted (and in most of the districts they are not allowed to), there would still have been a two-thirds majority. As usual, the capitalists are trying to divide the workers, by arousing their feelings of jealousy, telling them that the miners are better paid than the majority of the workers, that they do very little work, are constantly taking days off for trivial reasons, and are restricting output. The fact is, that the mineowners are afraid. They know that if the strike is successful they will lose some of the huge guaranteed profits they get at present (£26,000,000 a year, which is 190 per cent. above the normal trade of the industry), and that there is a danger of their losing control of the mines. The Government does not want to lose £8,000,000 a year. The miners, for some time, have been demanding the socialisation of the mines, as a national industry, and the despairing cry of the owners goes up that this strike is not really for an increase in wages and for a reduction in the cost of living, but that it is a political strike for nationalisation.

Owners Want De-Control.

The owners are pressing for de-control, when they can charge any price they like for coal, and by the evasive answers given by Sir Robert Horne, it seems as if the Government were likely to grant it. The miners are opposed to de-control, and they want the whole industry to be treated as a unit, because they know that otherwise, the price of coal will be raised, and some of the districts would have to close down unless this were done or they received a substantial subsidy from the Exchequer.

The press, owned by capitalists, and voicing their interests, does all it can to discredit the miners, and to point out the sufferings a strike will inflict upon the consumers, especially upon the workers; how industries will have to close down, and the workers will be thrown out of employment, because no stocks of coal have been laid in.

As a matter of fact, the miners have given such long notice of the action they are likely to take, that their opponents have had ample time to make their preparations. The Government has allowed 4,000,000 tons more coal for home consumption than in 1913, and this has been absorbed by the railways and manufacturers, who have laid in large stocks, and there are huge dumps up and down the country; at Swindon, for instance, there is a dump about a mile long.

Miners' Demands Not Exhorbitant.

With regard to the miners' wages, they are not receiving any increase as great as the rise in the cost of living, especially in South Wales, where the prices are very much higher than in other parts of the country. Under the Sankey award, they were given a 30 per cent. increase on their inadequate previous wage, in order to raise their standard of living. When the dangerous nature of their work and the conditions under which they do it are taken into account, no one should begrudge them any wage, however high it may be. But the miners are not only out for an increased wage, as, by a previous agreement they are entitled to an increase of from 5/- to 8/-, but they want to break the vicious circle of high prices, and make a start in reducing the cost of living.

Workers Always Blamed.

All the onus of the strike is laid upon the miners, because it is the fashion always to blame the workers, but it is the Government which should be blamed for refusing to grant the just demands of the miners, and if any hardships ensue, those who suffer must lay the blame on the right shoulders. Sir Robert Horne states that the Government will not give way, or discuss the question with the miners until they put forward some other proposition. The miners have sent out their ultimatum and they must see that their leaders do not depart from it. Mr. Brace is already weakening. In an interview with a *Daily Herald* correspondent he said that he thought "that if a Conference were convened, which would bring together all the interested parties to survey fully and frankly the problem in all its bearings, a peaceful solution ought to be the outcome." Does not Mr. Brace realise that this is all part of the class-war, and that these discussions have taken place *ad nauseum* without ever making the capitalists give in? But, of course, the workers' leaders, who are so little class-conscious, that they attend a dinner given to them by Colonel Seely, cannot be trusted to carry on that class-war to the knife. Unless the miners and other organised workers take a very definite stand during the Trades Union Congress, we shall see that the whole affair will end in compromise, and that the miners will be beaten. Further discussions are useless, as shown by the resolution of the Executive Committee of the British Chambers of Commerce which condemns the miners' demand as unjust and pledges itself to render every assistance possible to the Government.

It is time that we learnt a lesson from the Italian Metalworkers, who have been on strike for some time, and have ended by taking complete control of the factories. The Government dare not interfere with them, as it would mean a general strike. When shall we see the same solidarity among the workers here?

Dangers Facing Miners.

Three great dangers face the miners, the apathy and hostility of the workers in other industries, who are less class-conscious than the miners, and who look upon them as a priviledged section. They forget that the miners have won their shorter hours and increased pay by their solidarity and persistence; they have not depended upon others to get things for them, but they have controlled their leaders and pushed them on, to a certain extent, by the intelligent organisation within their Union, which has increased the control exercised by the rank and file. The decision to strike is not a sudden decision, it is the outcome of years of hard work and self-education.

The other danger before them is the action which may be taken by the Government, at the instance of the capitalists, to break the strike. By giving such long notice, the miners' opponents have ample time in which to make their preparations to cut off the food supplies and to place troops in convenient positions for dealing with the strikers. This time must be used by the miners for securing adequate food supplies in case of a long strike, and the Transport workers, who have agreed to support the miners, must refuse to convey troops and munitions *now*, and not wait until the strike has started.

Another danger is that the funds of the M.F.G.B. are invested in capitalist enterprises and War Loans, and there is sure to be a difficulty in realising them, so that strike pay will not be available. All Unions should refuse to put their money into Government and capitalist concerns, as by doing so, they not only help the capitalists, but it cripples the workers in their hour of need. They will realise too, that instead of getting £1 for 15/-, they are likely to get 15/- for £1 when they want to sell their War Bonds.

Another thing the miners have got to realise is that the importance of coal is not so great as it was. Oil is rapidly superseding it for transport purposes. An ordinary coal-burning locomotive can be adapted for oil in four days, it is claimed, and has various advantages over coal.

Mr. Lloyd George is returning, and we shall probably see some compromise being offered, because this is a question which vitally affects the pockets of the rich, and is not a case of saving a human life, that of the Lord Mayor of Cork, where the Government says it cannot give way, however unanimous the country is in its desire for his release.

The Government has suggested that the wages claim of the miners should be submitted to the Industrial Council, but it will not include the removal of 14/2 from the price of coal. This offer the miners refuse to accept, as they will not separate their two demands.

Communism Only Solution.

The *Times* states that "in commercial and business circles there is an accumulated opinion that there can be no stability in industry until a big strike has been fought and defeated." We know that there can be no stability in industry, or anything else, until the revolution has been fought and won, and a Communist Commonwealth established.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

The Trades Union Congress is now sitting at Portsmouth, and is the largest ever held, representing 6½ million organised workers. Mr. J. H. Thomas gave his Presidential Address, which might have been made by any bourgeois Liberal statesman, and he is typical of the men who compose the Labour Party, to which many of the workers still look for their salvation. The address was barren of any constructive policy and ended with an appeal for caution. It is significant that Mr. Thomas made no direct reference to the Miners' Strike, which is the burning question of the day, upon which the whole future of the workers of this country may depend.

CALL FOR WORLD BOYCOTT OF BRITISH SHIPS.

The Boston and New York longshoremen are refusing to load British ships, as a protest against the British Government's refusal to release Terence MacSwiney. They addressed the following cablegram to Robert Williams on September 2nd:—

"New York longshoremen assembled, pledge solidarity in the dock strike against British ships until MacSwiney and his companions are released and Dr. Mannix free. We appeal to our brothers in every port where British ships enter to refuse to unload them. We particularly call on Labour in Great Britain, Canada and Australia, to help in this fight for justice and civilisation."

What action is Robert Williams taking? We hear of nothing but resolutions being passed over here, and we know how useless they are. In reply to the thousands which Lloyd George has received, the only offer he makes is, that he will release the Lord Mayor of Cork if he has a guarantee that the murder of policemen in Ireland ceases. But what about the murders of civilians by the police and soldiers in Ireland? Will he guarantee that they shall cease and that he will withdraw his army of occupation from Ireland? We know that until this is done there can be no peace in Ireland.

MURMANSK SOVIET.—*Continued.*

to Yokanger, an isolated part of the coast, surrounded by mountains. Its climatic conditions were very bad, and not a tree existed there. The situation of the prisoners was kept secret until some of them were brought to Murmansk to be tried for an alleged attempt to escape. Then it leaked out that the prisoners were only allowed to rise from their beds between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m., and that if they attempted to do so at other times, they were shot by a sentry, who pointed his gun through the window. There was much illness amongst the prisoners, and many died.

The British left Murmansk between September and October, 1919, and on February 21st, a revolution was organised against the North Russian Government. The soldiers seized the guns and ammunition, and arrested the officers, eleven of whom were killed. Three or four others were killed later in running away. The greater part of the North Russian Army was at the front near Petrosarosk, and the revolutionaries did not know at the time what it would do. Should it side with the counter-revolution, they would be overwhelmed. The Army, however, at once joined the Revolution, and the officers ran away to Finland and Norway.

Saturdayings in the Villages.

By L. SOSNOVSKY.

The importance of the Saturdayings as a means of training the proletarians in the direction of Communism is at present generally recognised. And their importance as a school in the organisation of collective mass labour is not disputed, though not appraised at its full value.

More important from this standpoint is the use of Saturdayings in the villages, among the politically and culturally backward peasants, where the individualistic, private property conceptions are particularly strong, offering great resistance to the new —communistic—conceptions.

Unfortunately there is no record of the Saturdayings in the villages. The party organisations do not give the Saturdayings the serious attention which they merit. They are still looked upon as demonstrations. And who would bother to keep a record or make a study of demonstrations?

We are therefore forced to make use of accidental data. On looking over a few dozen provincial Soviet newspapers, I got the impression that the idea of Saturdayings has gotten quite a firm foothold in the villages. From the Archangel forests to the steppes of the Turgay region and the Yenisseisk province, not to mention the central provinces—everywhere the Saturdayings are mentioned. As a general rule, the village Saturdayings are not directed by the city, but are organised by the peasants themselves, according to their own plans.

The only part in which the directing arm of the capital is still shown, is the tilling of the Red soldiers' fields, through the Saturdayings. And even this is rather a compromise. The tilling of the soldiers' fields is *obligatory*, according to the decrees. And in this way the burden is placed upon the *volunteer* participants of the Saturdayings, that is, first of all, on the Communists and the sympathising poor peasants. At any rate, the spread of the Saturdayings has greatly enhanced the work of aid to the soldiers' families. All reports mention not only the tilling of fields, but also the repairing of houses and implements.

Particularly noteworthy in the list of Saturdaying works is the service for schools. Repairs on school buildings, cleaning, the storing of wood for the winter, the ploughing of the school garden—such is an incomplete list of the various tasks. A remarkable feature of the Saturdayings is the participation of the teachers, who are sometimes even the initiators of the Saturdayings. This was not the case before.

But, most of all, the Saturdayings are devoted to the improvement of the unattractive surroundings. Here is a brief summary of the work for the First of May and for the week of the labour front only for one volost (Lenin volost, of Koliazin County—province of Tver).

"During the week for the labour front and the First of May Saturdayings, 130 bridges were put up in the volost, whose total length is 1,050 feet, and in addition the Votrin bridge of 175 feet.

"Ditches were dug for approximately fifteen versts, an average of about 1/14 verst for each village.

"Roads were repaired for over thirty versts, an average of a little over two versts for each village.

"This does not include the smaller scale work—the loading of wood on twenty-three carts, public tilling, etc."

The Cheliabinsk newspaper "Sovietskaya Pravda," contains a summary of the work for the labour front week for a whole county. In forty-two volosts (townships) of Kurgan county, 35,262 men and 27,441 horses participated in the work during the week.

Repaired: seventy-three mills, twenty-six schools, 364 soldiers' houses, 201 storage places, fourteen oil mills, 183 bridges, twenty-two dams, 914 carts, 684 ploughs, 1,029 harrows; made—102 axes, 145 axles.

Mended: 1,954 pairs of boots, 1,035 pairs of shoes, 1,613 harnesses, 1,274 cart-seats.

Cleaned: 7,940 yards, 382 streets, and moved out 44,489 wagon loads of garbage.

Chopped 7,945 feet of wood and moved 6,055 feet; ground 13,450 poods of grain, and loaded and sent away 12,000 poods; brought in 8,000 pieces of timber; moved out 30,000 wagon-loads of straw, hay, ice, pulp and brush-wood.

The newspaper adds that similar work, though not so well recorded, was performed also in other counties of the province.

Let the reader ponder on these figures, this varied work, and chiefly on the expedient selection of the work. This list shows, firstly, what divers wants have accumulated in the villages for the last few years. Only great collective effort can save the villages from this situation.

Starting with the above-mentioned work on bridges, mills, schools, oil-mills, storage places, roads, etc., the peasants will be led by experience to the socialisation of the basic economic process—the exploitation of the soil.

The total figures are very considerable. This will be admitted by everybody who has been in touch with the Russian peasants during the last (after-war) years.

And this for but one week!

Let there be more such weeks, properly organised, directed by the party, and linked with a sensible propaganda of Communism. No agitation—by speech or press—could compare in results with this agitation by actual creative work.

Try, for instance, to keep step with the agitation of the Red soldiers of the Fifth Army, who, in undeveloped Siberia, beyond Krasnoyarsk, effected in one day—the First of May—the electrification of the village of Sukhobuzimskoye.

The Communist unit of the Fifth Army initiated this idea, formulated a detailed plan of work, and executed it in military fashion.

On April 29th a motor, dynamo, tools, and a group to prepare poles were sent ahead from the city. On the next day a detachment of Red soldiers departed with music. On the morning of the First of May, the detachment, at a given signal, took up their places in the village and started to work. They erected poles, put up wires, attended to the interior wiring, and mounted the motor and dynamo.

During this time the educational unit and the agitators were holding several meetings in the neighbouring villages.

At six o'clock in the afternoon the work was completed. A special commission examined the work and saw that everything was in proper order. In the evening, at the conclusion of a meeting where the significance of collective labour was explained to the peasants, the light was turned on. Later in the evening a play was staged for the peasants in the club-house, which was illuminated by electric light. Altogether, light was provided for eighty houses, for the school, the headquarters of the Revolutionary Committee, and for the club-house.

On the next day two addresses of appreciation were presented to the Red soldiers in the name of the peasants.

Such is the result of one day of volunteer collective labour. The electrification of the village of Sukhobuzimskoye is a miniature anticipation of the bright future which awaits the country after we shall have overcome the main obstacles on our road.

In order to overcome these difficulties, it is necessary to attract the peasants to the common work, to awaken them to a conscious attitude toward the general work of reconstruction, to arouse the villages to volunteer collective labour, preparatory to the coming universal obligatory service—and the Saturdayings in the villages are of great value for this purpose.

The Saturdayings departments attached to the committees of the Russian Communist Party must become efficient, practical organs, must be in touch with the committees on labour service and must give particular attention to the development of volunteer labour in the villages.

This is one of the methods through which Communism will make its way into the villages.

—From *Soviet Russia*.

END OF STRIKE IN SAW-MILLS.

The strike that began in the earlier part of July among all the workers in the sawmill industry has ended in an extraordinary manner. As indicated in our issue of August 7th, the strike was undertaken to enforce the principle of standardisation. Both skilled and unskilled men were paid a varying scale of wages, and there was a general demand that a single standard should operate in all the mills.

Many of the affected mills were not inside the Masters' Federation, and, as the days passed by, one after the other granted the strikers' demands, until over thirty mills had granted the new scale. The Executive, after consulting the men, adopted a resolution agreeing that all those mills that had considerately conceded all that was asked of them should be allowed to operate. By this unwise decision over sixty per cent. of the strikers went back to work.

At a mass meeting, when the resolution in question was dealt with, it was suggested that the men who returned to work should give their increase to support adequately those who still stayed out. The idea was agreed to somewhat tentatively, but it was not adopted as a resolution.

The Selfish, Sectional Spirit of Some Workers.

The remarkable fact is that it was in East London, where the sawmill workers are more militant than their fellows in South London, that the employers steadily refused to come to any reasonable terms with the employees. Some mills even took on scabs. The East Londoners were mainly responsible for the strike, and it is these men in East London who are now victimised, through their fellow workmen, for whom they fought until they won the new rates, refusing to aid them in their struggle. If it were not for the united action taken by all the men in the industry, the 60 per cent. who were allowed to continue working would have gained nothing; some skilled men, who had been working at a 1s. 6d. per hour rate, were now receiving the 2s. 6d. conceded by "those considerate employers." If the resolution demanding that the full increase should be devoted to the strikers' fund until the claims were adjusted had passed, some men would have had to contribute over £2 weekly, while others who were receiving a higher rate would have been taxed considerably less; and some who were previously receiving the standard rate would have been exempted. The men who had been receiving the lowest wages resented an inverse ratio tax, being extorted from them; but a proportionate rate could easily have been applied all round, and, after all, the sacrifice, if such it can be called, was worth while, if the victory that might have been won is taken into consideration. However, at a mass meeting held last week, the majority of the members, who had been working for weeks at the increased rates, voted against the continuation of the strike and the support of their comrades, who have now returned to work at the employers' terms. These terms are: (1) The men must go back to work at the rate the employers previously conceded pending a conference, (2) an agreement that the mills that granted the new scale will not reduce wages, (3) *The scabs who have taken the place of many of the strikers will not be discharged.*

At the proposed conference the men will press for higher rates for overtime and payment for holidays. But the bitterest pill that they must swallow now is that they must go back to work alongside unorganised scabs.

I understand that the Shop Stewards' Movement is still alive in some of the sawmill shops. These organised workers are affiliated to the building and other allied trades. It was only a few weeks ago that the pianoforte makers were on strike. The sawmill workers, the pianoforte and cabinet makers should all be inside the building trades. Instead of being loosely affiliated as they now are, they should all be consolidated into one industrial union. The Shop Stewards of the Building trade are, I understand, the most militant and progressive. They should get busy in all the other wood-working trades. The times are ripe for action.

C.E.

COMPOSITORS AND CAPITALIST PRESS LIES.

The newspaper trade is vitally affected in Lancashire and Cheshire on account of the printers' strike in Manchester and Liverpool. The Liberal Press, which is badly hit, bleats about an unauthorised strike and the breaking of contracts. The "Daily Mail" boasts of not being affected, for, realising that the men's demands were just, it conceded the demand, 20s. (50 per cent. more than the national award) without their asking for it. The tearful "Daily News" gives an account of "a small news sheet, with the title "The Evening Paper," consisting of four small pages, half the size of the pages of the "Daily News," issued, printed and published by the National Labour Press, Ltd., at 2d. per copy," and "recalls the fact that the "Herald" was started as a strike paper."

I heard a compositor speak at a great mass meeting recently, and he said that the London printers would be willing to "strike" against the lies of the Capitalist Press. It was really the most sensible thing said at that big meeting, but none of the papers reported it—not even the "Daily Herald." Indeed, the name of the speaker, who was not brilliant and spectacular, was not even mentioned. But his statement augurs well for the near future.

During the printers' strike in New York last year, affecting periodicals and commercial printing only, the New York illustrated weekly, "Life" (the American "Punch"), was taken to Boston to be produced. One prospective number contained a most vicious cartoon attacking the striking compositors and the whole American movement. It was brought to the attention of the printers, who there and then refused to proceed with the production of the magazine. The result was that the cartoon had to be taken out.

An efficient propaganda appealing to the class-spirit of our printers would doubtless accomplish much, in view of impending struggles in the sphere of Labour. A few weeks' vacation by the working printers would soon bring the lying Capitalist Press to heel—and in the interval something might be done to build up more and better working-class organs here. The British Labour and Socialist movement is sadly lacking in organs, whereas on the Continent the movement possesses hundreds of daily and weekly newspapers. The bourgeois mirage is hard to dispel here, but we are beginning to see things in a different light.

C.E.

BLIND PENSIONS ACT, 1920.

The Government is probably congratulating itself upon its great generosity with regard to the Blind Pensions' Act, which has just been passed. Pensions are only granted to persons "so blind as to be unable to perform any work for which eyesight is essential." A pension is granted at the age of 50 if the applicant has been a British subject for at least the past 10 years, and has been a resident in the United Kingdom for at least 12 years since attaining the age of 30.

And what are these wonderful pensions when the claim is admitted?

They vary for one of a married couple living together in the same house from 10s. if the combined income does not exceed £52 10s. a year, to 1s. if it does not exceed £99 15s. a year. Above that figure no pension is allowed.

For an unmarried person the yearly means must not exceed £26 5s. in order to obtain 10s. a week, or £49 17s. 6d. to obtain 1s. a week. To what a nicety the subsistence level has been calculated! The blind in this country ought to turn Bolshevik and work for Communism, under which they would get the ordinary worker's Trades Union rate at any age.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The Communist Saturdays.

Pravda writes on the subject of the first anniversary of the Communist Saturdays, organised on the line Kazan-Moscow, on the iniative of a working-man weigher. "One may say boldly, that there does not now ex'st in all Soviet Ru sia, a city where Communist Saturdays have not been organised. They are held even in the country. First the Communist workers were the only ones to take part in them, but soon the movement came to embrace both those without party affiliation and other classes than the workers. This immense extension of Communist Saturdays and their universal success, clearly indicate the extraordinary aptness which devised this form of organisation of labour in the present period of transition, a form which has the more value in that it is the first realisation of the collective and disinterested labour of the future."

Izvestia remarks that the internal organisation of the Communist Saturdays during this year has made immense progress. Not only the quantity, but also the quality of the work is constantly increasing. More and more are the masses imbued with the idea of the necessity of an intensive, prolonged and disinterested labour. The proof of this is that the Saturdays have taken the form of weeks and months of intensive voluntary work.

The Vienna "Correspondence Revue" sends the following information from the Hungarian papers of August 24th, concerning the White Terror that still continues:—

"The Chief of Police at Vienna received, on 21st August, a report from the assistant surgeon in the Vienna Infirmary, concerning Paul Reiss, a tailor, who had been in prison for some months in Hungary, where he had been ill-treated to such an extent, that he is now lying dangerously ill in hospital. A reporter of the "Bécsi Magyar Ujsdg" was present when the doctor visited Reiss, and gives the following details:—Paul Reiss was arrested in a little town near Budapest, and was imprisoned with 40 others. They were kept for a fortnight in a small bath-room, and were beaten every day with whips of wire and iron, and the buit ends of rifles, till they fell down fainting. A captain, lieutenant, and second-lieutenant themselves committed these atrocities, and they killed an old man of 89. The second-lieutenant put out the eyes of the parish doctor of Raab. A detective cut off four of a jeweller's fingers, named Lazar, who had been treasurer in Papa under the Communist Government. On February 4th, at 10 p.m., six prisoners in the same cell as Reiss were taken into the yard and executed in the presence of the Public Prosecutor, Alexander Lányi. The six were on remand, the day of the trial not having been fixed, yet Reiss and three other prisoners had to dig their grave. The corpse of one of them was so mutilated that he was unrecognisable, Reiss himself was terribly tortured in prison. He managed to escape at the beginning of August, and reached Vienna. The doctors stated that his body was covered with burns from hot irons and cigars. Reiss had not taken part in the Communist Government, nor had he held any office.

"All the Hungarian prisons are overcrowded, and many barracks, schools, and other public buildings, such as the public pawnbroker's shop, are being turned into civil prisons."

The Hungarian Government which perpetrates such atrocities is recognised by the Allies, while they refuse to recognise the Russian Soviet Government, which is doing all in its power to establish a system under which such things could not exist. Some people may say that they had a Red Terror as bad as this in Russia, but if there were atrocities committed in Russia by the Reds, in isolated cases, the Soviet Government never sanctioned them, and we know that most of the atrocity stories dished up to discredit the Bolsheviki, were fabrications.

It is time that the workers over here realised the White Terror that still goes on in Hungary, and took steps to stop it. If they had whole-heartedly participated in the recent boycott of Hungary, it would have gone a long way towards achieving it. We must have a more international outlook, and not be so much wrapped up in our own local affairs, for we must remember that an injury to one is an inujry to all.

NEWS FROM CHINA.

First China Labour Day.

Shanghai, May 2.—The first China Labour Day was not a success here, troops in the Chinese city and the police in the foreign settlements taking stringent measures to prevent parades and demonstrations. Shops and factories were running full blast.

Authorities Taking Precautions.

Shanghai, May 1.—The Defence Commissioner has stationed two companies of troops with a machine-gun at the west gate of the Recreation Ground, where the labourers plan to hold a Labour Day mass meeting this afternoon. The authorities have decided on stern suppressive measures, announcing prohibition of the planned parade. Additional martial law regulations became effective yesterday.

Labourers who are on holiday to-day announce that their organisation is not political or Bolshevist, and has no connection with the students. They chose May 1st because world labourers' secured an eight-hours' day on that date.—S.C.M.P.

Women's Labour Union.

Shanghai, June 2nd.—In addition to the establishment of a Chinese Labour Union which is now under the sharp watch of the local officials for fear of the introduction of labour unrest and Bolshevik ideals into China, some enterprising Chinese working-women, mostly workers in the various stocking factories, have established a women's labour union in the French concession for the protection of their rights. In their petition to the French Consul-General, the promoters of this women's labour union say that their sole object is to protect their own legitimate rights without anything to do with strikes or anything tending to disturb the general peace. The workers demand that their employers should respect their personal freedom of action and that they should not be dismissed without reason or previous notice. The promoters are comparatively young women, between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, and this is certainly the first Union of its sort in China.

Rewards for Bolshies.

Three rewards have been offered by the local Chinese authorities in connection with their search for Bolshevists in Shanghai who are said to be "stirring up the peace of the place." The rewards are: (1) Tls. 1,000 for the arrest of the leader; (2) Tls. 500 for the arrest of important members of the party or parties; and (3) Tls. 200 for the arrest of any worker or workers of such parties. These rewards will be accompanied by promotion to official rank, but anybody prosecuting maliciously will be dealt with very severely. [One Tael is worth about a dollar.]

Italian Workers Seize Factories.

Milan was the first town in Italy in which the metal workers seized control of the factories, as a result of the lock-out at one of them. Chosen workers mount guard at night over the factories, and special commissions control the outgoings and incomings of the staff. Work is being carried on as usual. The same thing is happening in Turin, Rome, Spezia, Sestri, Ponente, and Sampierdarena, where lie the most important establishments and shipyards in Italy. The workers have acted so rapidly that they have avoided any interference by the authorities. The Central News says that the Venice metal-workers have occupied the military arsenal. The Labour and Socialist section of the Chamber at Milan has published a manifesto to the workers, ending as follows:—

"We are in complete agreement with the metal-workers, who are fighting for themselves and every class of workman. On the slightest provocation from the authorities, in support of the masters, you must respond with the seizure of all factories, in the defence of your rights."

We would recommend the British workers to take this manifesto to heart, and put it into practice when the miners' strike starts here.

Property versus Humanity.

The New York "Nation" comments upon the fact that French and German capitalists came to an understanding for the protection of valuable iron ore in the Lorraine sector during the war. Such revelations always come as a shock to the upholders of bourgeois morality. It makes little difference that the war would have been shortened and thousands of lives saved if the French had undertaken a great offensive in the Lorraine district. It would have only resulted in the destruction of another valuable industry, vital to the interests of France and Germany. So the capitalists sacrificed human life to save industry. To the ruling class, property is worth infinitely more than human life. It is the same with the working class. The only difference is that while the ruling class set us to fight for their property, we are so willing to die for that which we do not own.

"Black Hole" on Steamer.

On board the steamer Bambra, which arrived from Wyndham yesterday, there were 20 blacks, convicted of various offences at Wyndham, and being conveyed to a West Australian port to work on the roads.

They were cooped up in a small space on the deck, and were chained together, and were under cover of a tarpaulin not high enough to permit them to stand up.

The sweltering heat, the gruesome sanitary arrangements, and the asphyxiating odour of the place were as of a "black hole."

The Protector of Aboriginals (Mr. McDonald) protested to the officer in charge of the blacks, and demanded more humane treatment for them.

Accompanied by the Aboriginal Protector, Mr. McDonald, a representative of the "Darwin Times" visited the Bambra. The blacks included one or two death sentence men going to Perth. The remainder are going to Roebourne to work on the roads.

The presence of the steamer in Darwin is due to the fact that the Bambra does not call at Wyndham on the return journey.

The men had been chained round the neck until the passengers objected. They were then chained together.

The deck had not been washed down, and the place reeked with an indescribably horrible odour.

In response to the Aboriginal Protector's demand the mate promised to remove the irons from the blacks when the vessel was out of port.

—Sydney *Sun*, July 2nd, 1920.

A Trip to Russia.

(*Continued from page two.*)

and Goriélova brought me a sack of hay, a sheet, a flannelette blanket and a pillow, and made up a comfortable bed for me. I discovered in the morning that she had given all that she had for herself, for I found her lying uncomfortably on a sort of shelf in the corridor.

Another woman traveller brought us glasses of hot tea without any milk, but with a great deal of sugar in it, and in the morning, and at frequent intervals since, Goriélova brought glasses of tea to me. Whenever the train stops, some of the passengers jump out to get hot water to make tea.

The first part of the journey towards Petrograd was through swampy land, and for long distances we saw neither a house nor a human being, but everywhere we saw evidences of labour, trees cut down and new ditches, many miles long, to drain the land; new roads, or at any rate newly repaired roads, made of logs covered with earth; newly made or newly repaired railway tracks. All the houses are built of wood, and a relatively large number of these are new. The new houses are larger and better built than the old ones, and more frequently carved. A large proportion of the railway stations are also new.

The train stops very frequently. We have just taken up a couple of passengers and some more logs for the engine, which burns wood. Two women with spades and birch brooms are cleaning up leaves, weeds, and small rubbish from the railway track, collecting the sweepings in a tray with two handles at either end, and tipping them in a large depression at the other side of the line, which is obviously to be filled up.

At one station a number of women and children came up with baskets and tins of winberries, and they clamoured, "tabac, tabac," but no-one answered. I had a piece of chocolate in my pocket and threw it down to a very wistful-looking little girl. At once a woman handed me a jar of berries. I shook a few out into a paper, then handed back the jar, and, as the train moved off, I had the uncomfortable feeling that perhaps by giving the chocolate and accepting the berries I had given encouragement to petty trading in Soviet Russia, though when I gave the chocolate I did not think of getting berries in exchange.

Later on I was the witness from the carriage window of a striking example of petty trading, and the little worth of paper money in Russia. An old woman stood by the train with a basket of raspberries, and a number of men stood round her offering paper roubles, whilst a woman holding out a tin cup from the carriage window was calling appealingly: "Baboushka, Baboushka," which means grandmother. I wish I could say the old woman gave the raspberries to the woman who called her. On the contrary, she took no notice; perhaps the men's clamour prevented her hearing the woman's appeal. Just as the train was going, the old creature parted with a cupful of raspberries for fifty Kerensky roubles. The raspberries are growing wild in the woods by the railway track.

Now on the third day's journey from Murmansk, we are come to a much more fertile and populous country. We pass through green woods of birch trees, meadows, and corn-fields. There are many people at the station. Men and boys with wadded coats and fur caps, old men with long beards and hair; men in blouses of all kinds; the British and French uniforms are still seen, though less numerous.

Now we are at Petrosarosk, with several hours to wait. People leave the train and picnic. On the platform is luggage of all kinds, and many people have their odds and ends tied up in the skin of what looks like a chamois.

A young Red Army political instructor joined us last night. He speaks a little French, and I go with him and Goriélova into the town. We see the White Church with its shining domes in the distance, and an arm of the sea winding inland and gorgeously blue. At the junction of two roads,—one named after Lenin; the other after Engels,—a wooden triumphal arch, erected for the festivities on the anniversary of the October Revolution, is still standing. We go to the offices of the Communist Party, a large wooden building with typewriters, the telephone, and all that one expects to see in an office, and also some guns. Goriélova informs us that she also has learnt to shoot, and can use a revolver and a carbine—the rifle is too heavy for her.

MALTHUSIANISM

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The Spiritual Purposes Behind the Communist Movement.

No one supposes that we want to usher in the Day of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Day of Economic Equality, just in order that humanity may evolve to the level of fat and well-fed pigs in comfortable styes, with plenty of good straw, good food, good grooming, and plenty of physical laziness.

No one supposes that the "material well-being" is an end in itself. The suggestion is ridiculous. If there is any purpose whatever in Bolshevism, it is that this MATERIAL EQUALITY AND MATERIAL WELL-BEING IS MERELY THE FIRST FUNDAMENTAL FOR CULTURAL GROWTH, AND FOR SPIRITUAL GROWTH—the first essential for the development of all those things whereby Man is superior to the lower creation.

What is the difference between a Walt Whitman and a public-house bar loafer? There is very little physical difference. But there is a gulf of ages between them in mental grasp and mental perception, in emotional experience and capacity in humanist instincts, and in everything that constitutes the real man as distinct from the pig body of the physical shell.

The Industrial Proletariat of to-day has his mentality, morality, emotionality, and spirituality completely crushed, stunted, dwarfed, and atrophied by chains of toil-slavery, worse than has ever been worn by a class in the history of the human race.

It is those chains we Bolsheviks seek to remove, not that the Working Classes may develop into well-fed pigs, but that light may enter where now all is darkness, and the human spirit develop and grow, blossom and give fragrance, and attain a magnificence that shall make the Ages that now are ending, look like one long, pitch-black night.

To-day is the day of the Dawn—the light is truly breaking—and the future is no longer in doubt. It is, indeed, the Golden Age, the Millenium that fast approaches.

Doubt no longer exists that it wants but a very short space for the New Ideal of Collective Well-Being in place of Individual Well-Being, Co-operation in place of Cut-Throat Competition, Economic Equality in place of most unbrotherly and shameful Economic Equality, to sweep over the whole earth.

A force of Spiritual Unity and Brotherhood has been engendered in Russia, that the forces of the old order, cankered out and disintegrated by thoughts of "self" and "personal well-being," will be utterly powerless to withstand.

The spiritual force born in France in the partial revolution of 1789, swept Europe clean, but this force is a thousand times more powerful and sound. Why, we have only to sit back in our chairs and laugh Ha! Ha! and watch the whole system of capitalist production, rotten at its base because it is "production for profit," or "production for robbery," go tottering to its present very near final crash.

The coming age will be a veritable age of "Light." It will be a deeply religious age, beyond anything yet known on earth, where Man himself will be the temple of the living God, glorious physically, glorious in comprehension and understanding, with new morality, new ideas, new culture, where each will understand the thoughts and emotions, aspirations and development of the other, and "Universal Consciousness," from being a rare phenomenon in our Walt Whitmans and Edward Carpenters, will become the heritage of each one of us.

It is against this glorious dawn for humanity, that Capitalism marshalls its last forces.

The whole essence of our Bolshevik theory lies in the fact that Man is a Spiritual Being, and that the human family is all one. The oneness of all humanity is the cardinal dogma underlying our efforts. Not one physically, but sharing the same thoughts, the same emotions, the same psychological experiences, the same life-force, the same spirit.

The doctrine of Economic Equality, the kernal doctrine of Bolshevism, is really very homely and simple. If I had a patch of ground, and wished to grow some cabbages, I would first see that the ground was level. I would not sow one cabbage on the top of a little mountain of earth, about three feet high, and the next half-way down the side, and the third in the dirty puddle at the bottom, and so on all over my patch of ground. No, like a sensible man, I should first level the ground and see that it was equally manured and equally dug over. Then, and only then, should I expect to get a good crop of cabbages. Every cabbage would have the same chance of sunshine, and wind, and the same good conditions of soil and cultivation, because each cabbage needed precisely the same economic conditions. And if it is a crop of humanity we are growing instead of cabbages, WE STILL NEED THESE EQUAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, IF WE ARE TO GET A GOOD CROP, with equality of sunshine, manure, cultivation. And, to pursue the simile a little further with my level ground, I would still get the best cabbage seed, growing into the best cabbages. All would not be equal—they would differ in size, and weight, and quality. And exactly so with our family of cabbage humanity. A good crop is going to be grown. Cabbage cultivation is being taken in hand for the first time and not left to the wild methods of the forests. And the ground is going to be level.

After our night-long march through past ages, we see the glorious Canaan before our eyes. Those in the van of the army see the spires and turrets of the New Jerusalem and hear the swell of the Olympian Music wafted by the breeze. Along the eager faithful Ranks, the word is passed along, and as the light grows stronger in the heavens, the refrain is taken up:

"England arise, the long, long Night is ended,
Faint in the East behold the Dawn appear,
Out of your evil dream of Toil and Sorrow,
Arise, O England, for the Day is Here."

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

When a rotary machine is clattering along at two-fifty revolutions the minute, and the guillotine cutters are clumping in the "aisles," it would seem impossible to carry on a talk, unless one can raise one's voice to the howl of a tempest. But there are more ways than one of eating tripe, and even the newspaper correspondents have been caught bending.

I remember reading an absurd article in a Manchester paper, about the possibilities of lip-reading amongst the mill-workers. Here, you have the looms clattering and chattering and the workers accompanying this with a chorus on their clogs. And yet these workers were able to carry on a lively conversation throughout the day. How?

Our reporter is on the track. He has not read up Einstein's theory of light-being-bent for nothing. No. So he applies his deductive powers in the best Sexton Blake style. That is to say, ergo, the workers must be able to lip-read. They don't raise their voices above an elephant's whisper, so only one logical deduction is possible.

Whereas, if the reporter had actually worked in a mill, he would have known, firstly, that mill workers don't wear clogs at work. And secondly, that lip-reading isn't the easy thing it seems. Especially with the lip-twistings given by a dialect.

The fact is, of course, that one sort of gets used to the noise of the machines thundering away; and with a little practice, you can stand in the midst of a "demoniacal clatter," as the inventive reporters call it, and yet hear a pin drop. And for conversation, it is only necessary to modulate the tones so that the sound-waves reach the listener without being too much bent on the voyage.

That is a fact seen every day at our place. We have about a dozen rotaries right in the middle of the machine-room floor (and it's a big floor, too), and two battalions of guillotines protect the flanks. And a few nailing machines bring up a sort of rearguard. This is as good a collection of futurist music as can be found outside Chelsea. Yet our conversation suffers but little, and that chiefly from old Creeps.

"What do you think of the Council of Action?" Jack called across to me from No. 8 machine, one afternoon when Creeps had slipped upstairs to see how his lunch looked.

"Woddyermean?" queried Mac, who was with me, and thought Jack was addressing him.

"Hey, Mac, shut up," said Jack, "I was talking to your pal. What's he say about the Council of Action?"

"Do you know what the Bible says?" Mac yelled back. He is rather keener on religion than on politics. He always has the "I smell a priest" attitude, and it earns him some notoriety as a blasphemer, if it does nothing less. I have often tried to explain to him that it is so easy to run down the Bible, since not half the average of workers in any factory have read it, unless it's the "spicy" parts at Sunday School. And anyway, the question of changing the system comes first, to say nothing of religion splitting up the working class forces. Apparently, however, Mac seems to find religion a more convenient butt for his remarks, as his own economics are not very keen, and triumphs over "Bible-thumpers" are so easily secured.

"Do I know what the Bible says?" asked Jack. "Well, it says a good many things. What are you getting at?"

"Never mind Mac," I said. "That's exactly what I think of the Council of Action—a good many things. What in particular do you want to know about 'em?"

"They seem to be a fat more Council than Action, if you ask me."

"Perhaps," I admitted. "Still, there are a lot of questions to discuss."

"Fat lot of rot, you mean. My idea is, this Council of Action is a get-up of the Labour Party; a kind of plot, if I may say so."

"How's that?"

"A horse with the heaves and double blinkers could see that," said Jack, scornfully. "These statesmen of the Labour Party are trying to spoof the rank and file by talking red-hot revolution, so they can get into Parliament."

I did not exactly see the connection, so I said so.

"It's like this here. This blessed Council gets up and lays down three points which it is up to Lloyd George to take up or hurl back in their teeth. What Lloydie does, is to give the soft answer, so they are just where they was. But they know something. It is up to the rank and file to stop this war against Poland—No, I mean Russia, and so out with it. What these Labour Party statesmen are counting on is the action of the rank and file to alarm the Government so much, that they resign, and so the Labour Party takes office, and there we are. Or rather, there they are. Where will the rank and file come in then? Ask Schiedemann and Noske"

WHAT COMMUNISM STANDS FOR.

A Note to the Industrial Worker.

What does Communism stand for in the Industrial field? Some of the things it stands for, are enumerated below:—

1. Levelling up the Bottom Dog.
2. Equal wages for Workers and Leaders.
3. Shorter working week for Skilled and Heavy Labour.
4. Equal Pay for Men and Women.
5. Control of all working class organisations by the Rank and File, by the "Delegate liable to Recall" system. All students of Marx know it is an utter absurdity to imagine that the Worker Class could obtain Economic Emancipation, whilst led by people belonging to a totally different Class, that of the Labour Bureaucracy, led by a class with totally differing Class Interests, led by men with incomes from £1,200 downwards, led by veritable Capitalists.

It is equally absurd to suppose that real Solidarity is possible among the Workers until that Solidarity has its roots in equality of economic status—equality of economic recompense for all crafts and grades of Workers. Once that equality is achieved on the economic plane, the real Solidarity for which we strive, will merely be a reflex of this Economic Solidarity. Without this Economic Solidarity of Economic Interests, Class Solidarity is only a dream.

The Capitalists realise this, and therefore, split our "interests' by differentiating between grades, crafts, sexes, age, and in every possible way.

Do you agree with us? Then stand your corner as a Wage Slave, and support the Communist Party with your energy, time and money.

Are you a member of a sleepy Union? Then start a Vigilance Committee going, right away, to ginger up the Officials, throw out the Grafters, and obtain Solidarity for Action among your mates.

The Communist Party welcomes your help and your enthusiasm in our common struggle for Class Emancipation.

E. T. W.

Dear Editor,—Can you explain what Lansbury means when he says: "The result [of the Council of Action] is that there is now no question of war with Russia, no question of helping anyone to make war on the Socialist Republic" (*Daily Herald*, 4th September)? France, as our ally, is waging open war on Russia. Lloyd George said (April 24th, 1920): "He did not believe any ally would act alone . . . and it was essential that they should stand together." Therefore, unless the alliance between France and Britain is broken off, we, as partners, are waging war on Russia.

Four British ships are in the Dantzig port forcing unwilling workmen to allow munitions to be sent against Russia, and peaceful Trade Unionists from Russia are not allowed to land in Britain. Whilst not doubting Lansbury's good intentions towards Soviet Russia, what is the Council of ACTION going to DO, to stop the murder of the only people who are trying to put Christ's teaching into practice?—Yours, etc.,

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

SOUTH WALES.

A CONFERENCE of ALL COMMUNISTS (Left Wingers) adhering to the undermentioned, will be held at CARDIFF on SATURDAY, SEPT. 18th, 1920, at 2.30 p.m. Place of meeting will be announced next week, and on circulars sent out.

OBJECTS OF PARTY.

(1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism.
(2) The class struggle.
(3) The dictatorship of the proletariat.
(4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system.
(5) Affiliation to the Third International.
(6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary action.
(7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

CONFERENCE AGENDA.

(1) To consider ways and means of co-operating and co-ordinating the whole of the rebel element throughout South Wales. (Method: Forming Branches where there are only unattached Comrades at present.)
(2) Advisability of getting an Organiser for South Wales and West of England.
(3) Ways and means of maintaining such Organiser.
(4) Consider mandates for the Manchester Conference.
(5) Advisability of sending delegate to Manchester.
(6) Any other business.

Yours for Communism,
D. A. DAVIES, Convener.

WANTED!

Communists, Comrades, and Readers to support the *Dreadnought* Fund. We need immediate funds to meet the increased cost of printing, paper and postage, etc., to raise the circulation in the industrial centres. We wish to make the *Workers' Dreadnought* more efficient, to make it become the real mouthpiece of uncompromising Communism and the Revolutionary Industrial Workers. Help Us!

Send remittances, marked "*Dreadnought* Fund," through your branches or direct to: *The Treasurer*, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

COUNCILS OF ACTION.

The cleavage in principle and tactics between ourselves and the Maiden Lane Communists is clearly shown in our attitude to the Councils of Action. The Maiden Lane Communists have been demanding representation for their Party on the National Council of Action, and presumably representation for the Branches of their Party on the Local Councils of Action. Such a course can only confuse class-conscious industrialists and bring discredit on Communism by the advocacy of false principles of delegation of power. For consider. The "action" contemplated is industrial action, and the people who are going to act are all industrial workers. And what right or mandate has a Communist Party to decide on such action? And if they do not know, I am sure the Workshop Movement of this country will very quickly give them the information.

As against the Maiden Lane tactics, the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International), recognised quite clearly that a self-appointed body of middle-class Labour leaders, enjoying incomes from £1,500 per annum downwards, enjoying an economic standard far in advance of what they could expect under Communism, provided with "exploiting capital" with which to live on the labour of their fellows, was never likely to go in for much "action." However, even supposing such action might have occurred, the Communist Party, B.S.T.I., was prepared to use all possible influence to further such action, as indeed it always supports all strikes and all class-action. To this end, Branches were informed, that although it was against the principles of the Party for either the Party to have representation on the Council of Action nationally, or for the Branches to have representation on the Local Councils of Action, all members of the Party who were able to get on the Councils of Action as delegates from industrial bodies, able to take part from an unfettered Communist standpoint, were advised to do so, and, as industrial delegates, to urge all possible action to be taken.

However, our members have a more important task to perform, and I will throw out this suggestion to Maiden Lane: the first business, in accordance with Communist principle—and this Communist Party *has* definite principles, and is not merely opportunistic—is to SOVIETISE THE COUNCILS OF ACTION.

To do this, it is firstly necessary to move on the Local Councils of Action, that such Local Councils shall consist only of delegates from such bodies as are to be called upon to act: Trades Union branches, Shop Committees, and organised industrialists. Each such delegate must, in accordance with Communist principle, be liable to instant recall and substitution by the body of the industrial rank and file he represents. Knock out all political representatives from the Local Councils of Action,—such representatives have no right to issue a call to anybody for industrial action. Then from the Local Councils of Action in any county or area, one or two delegates should go to form the District Council of Action, each such delegate being equally liable to immediate recall and substitution by the Local Council from which he goes. Finally, from these District Councils of Action, one delegate should go to the National Council of Action, equally liable to recall. With such a Council of Action, it would not only be possible to stop the war on Russia, but to destroy the Capitalist System and substitute economic equality and Communism, just as soon as the workers wanted to do so. The whole system of Councils of Action then rests on the rank and file of the workers—the very people who are to be called upon for action.

The Communist Party stands for rank and file domination and rank and file control. By co-operating as a Party with Labour fakirs it would delude the workers into the impression that it was in favour of control and domination *from above*, and that it recognised the status and right of this faked Council of Action to issue calls for action. The Communist Party does no such thing, and relentlessly opposes all domination and leadership by "superior persons" who are carving out careers and comfortable livings from off the backs of the workers. If it were only for the lack of principle in this vital question of delegation of power regarding Councils of Action, which Maiden Lane has shown, it is a very good thing that the Communist Movement did split, so that the minority might maintain proletarian principles untarnished.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

SOHO INTERNATIONAL BRANCH, COMMUNIST PARTY, MEETS EVERY WEDNESDAY, AT 9 p.m. PROMPT, AT 58, OLD COMPTON STREET, SOHO, W.

Intending Members and Sympathisers Invited.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

Hull.

Reports good increase of membership and excellent meetings. The Branch starts all their propaganda meetings with a rebel song, and Secretary Jackson says nothing beats this method. Other Branches might copy with advantage.

Camberwell.

The Camberwell members have been very successful with their literature and *Dreadnought* sales, amounting to over £8 one week and £5 another. A special Branch meeting will be held on Monday, 13th, to discuss the Conference agenda.

COMRADE TYLER'S MISSIONARY TOUR.

Our comrade passed through Nuneaton at the week-end on the way to Leicester. Route ahead: Loughborough, Nottingham, Newark, Mansfield, and Sheffield. Six good meetings were held in Coventry last week.

MONEY URGENTY NEEDED!

The Day of Revolution draws rapidly nearer. A good deal of Spade Work—Unceasing Propaganda—is still necessary to mould opinion. The Party work and propaganda urgently needs funds. What we require is MONEY—NOW!

Please remit donations to Communist Funds to:

PERCY WALLIS: *Hon. Treasurer.*
18, Angel Road, Hammersmith, W.6.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Soho Comrades 10s, Poplar Comrades 20s, Mrs. Hart 2s 6d, Mrs. Brimley 1s, Hammersmith Comrades 1s 5d, Comrades Kent and Biddle 1s, M. Lacchen 4s, Barking Comrades 6s, Frank T. Dent 4s, Mrs. Kennedy 2s 6d.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.
Osborn Street. Every Sunday at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.
Dock Gates. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.
Peckham Rye. Sunday, 12th, at 11 a.m. J. R. O'Sullivan.
Grove Lane, Camberwell. Friday, 10th, at 7.30.
Hanover Park, Rye Lane. Saturday, 11th, at 7.30.

Hammersmith.
The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.
Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station. Every Friday at 7.30 p.m.

Bow.
St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 5 p.m.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

Soho International.
58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 9 p.m. prompt.

Bow.
400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Poplar.
20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Camberwell.
16, Peckham Road. Monday, 13th, at 7.45 p.m.

SECRETARY'S NOTES.

The Wider Unity.

In order to achieve the fullest degree of revolutionary unity, consistent with soundness of Communist principle, the Provisional Organising Council of the Communist Party have asked for the co-operation in convening the Conference on September 25th and 26th, of three other papers: *Solidarity*, *The Spur*, *The Worker*.

The reply of Comrade Guy Aldred of the *Spur* is as follows:—

"Dear Comrade Whitehead,—The Glasgow Group agrees that, functioning as their delegate, I shall attend the convening meeting of the Manchester September Conference. This decision has been arrived at by the Executive Committee. The Members' Meeting will be on Monday night, but there is no reason to expect opposition from the members, most of whom are acquainted with the proposals and endorse it. I don't agree with all your note in this week's *Dreadnought*. However, the times are such that it is a small matter, and I suppose it is more abstract theory than concrete fact which divides us.—Guy A. Aldred, Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow."

Given the goodwill and co-operation of the Editors and Controlling Organisations behind these three organs, we feel confident that the weapon for the overthrow of Capitalism can be formed.

Extracts From Last Week's Post-Bag.

"I must say I am struck with the policy you intend pursuing of canvassing from house to house, for in London, unfortunately, most of our meetings are held for the 'converted.'"—David E. Maguire, London, N.1.

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"I have spent a fortnight down in South Wales and have been in close contact with revolutionary outlooks. Visited Porth, Tonyrefail, Tonypandy, and Cymmer. I have attended their meetings, and I can safely say that all South Wales is in complete sympathy with the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International). I have also addressed different committees with a view to grouping up with the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.).—Yours for Communism, Tom Dingley (N.A.C. Shop Stewards)."

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"On Monday of last week the Anderston B.S.P. decided to sever its connection with the Communist Party of Great Britain. We are re-named the Anderston Communist Branch. A conference of all Scottish Communist Groups is arranged for September 11th, and the group decided to await the result of that conference before taking further action.—Yours fraternally, William Deans, Anderston, Glasgow."

* * * * *

"B.S.P. combination weakening in Brum, a few of them smelling a rat, especially over tactics. I should stick to the name of the party unaltered. They are not "Communist"—merely masquerading; and if they wish to advertise us beforehand, well and good. If we can get going, our stuff will soon sicken 'em, especially ——'s kidney. These men are pure radicals.—Fraternally, R. V. Harvey, Birmingham."

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"Enclosed 16s. to Guarantee Fund. Hoping you are being bombarded with similar postal orders.—Yours for the destruction of Capitalism, Edward Redfern, Gorton."

* * * * *

"Ninety-nine per cent. of the agricultural workers agree that the farms should be handed over to those who will work them for the people's good. I doubt if you will find a body of men in any other grade (not even the miners) who are so united on this point and ready to work the better system.—H. E. Durham, Holt, Norfolk."

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"All going well. Resting Coventry four days. Believe I have broken a record in propaganda touring, at least in recent years. Am preparing detailed report for Conference.—Fred Tyler (Communist Party Missionary.)"

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The Secretary would be glad to hear from J. Nicholson, whose letter appeared in last week's *Dreadnought*.

To Manchester Comrades.

The GORTON BRANCH invites the co-operation of COMMUNIST SPEAKERS in Manchester and District for their Sunday Evening PROPAGANDA MEETINGS. Will all Comrades willing to give a date, or otherwise assist, please communicate with the Secretary, E. REDFERN, Gore Brook Hall, William Street, Gorton, Manchester.

Please fill in, and either hand to your local Branch Secretary, or post direct to EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, Provisional Secretary of the Communist Party, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W. 14.

I wish to join the Communist Party, British Section of the Third International, and declare my adherence to the seven main principles of the Party. Entrance Fee 1s.

Name .....

Address .....

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